

PEACE NEWS

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THIRD WAY MOVEMENT PLANS WORLD MEETING FOR LONDON THIS YEAR

Peace News Reporter

Who wants German rearmament?

PARLIAMENT SHOULD BE RECALLED

By Emrys Hughes, MP

A BETTER New Year to all Peace News readers; and see you all do your share to double the circulation in 1955.

By the time this reaches you most of you will be back at work—even if you live in Scotland.

Members of Parliament, however, are having a longer holiday. They all work harder than miners, railwaymen, farm workers, engineers, coal trimmers, sailors and all those who count themselves lucky if they get a week's rest with pay. But MPs are not allowed back to Westminster until January 25, even if they want to go there. Rest, relaxation, recuperation all are needed for our overworked legislators.

Still it is a bit of an ordeal for some of us to keep on celebrating Christmas until January 25, which is the birthday of Robert Burns.

Before the House rose some of us suggested that Parliament has so much to do that we should cut our holiday by a fortnight in order to overtake arrears of work.

Besides, we never know what is being done by the Government in our absence and an ever vigilant House of Commons is the corrective to a Government that likes long holidays because then there is no trouble from Parliament and no awkward questions to Ministers. Those of us who wanted to go back earlier have already had our view justified.

Foreign Office and France

What has the Foreign Office been up to? Why was that threat made to the French the day before they had to make their decision on German Rearmament?

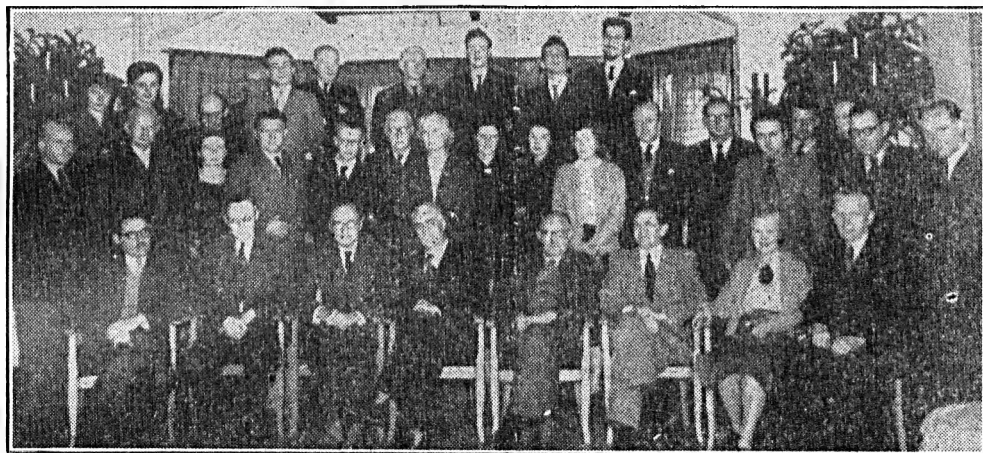
What would we have said if on the day before the vote on the Paris Treaty in our Parliament there had been a threatening and bullying statement issued by the French Foreign Office?

It certainly annoyed the French, even M. Mendes-France and those who were in favour of the Treaty.

Of course it has become the habit of certain Governments to come out with threats to other countries before decisions in the Parliaments and on the eve of general elections.

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THEY SEEK NEW WAY TO PEACE



Conference participants at the international Third Way Conference held at "De Hoeve," Laren, near Amsterdam during Christmas week. J. Allen Skinner, editor of Peace News, was in the chair.

SIX MONTHS GAOL FOR WAR RESISTER

"I am a Christian..."

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

"THIS is a most distasteful task. It is a shocking thing that a young man has to be sent to prison in this way."

Mr. Geoffrey G. Raphael, the Marylebone Magistrate said this on Tuesday when he sentenced twenty-year old conscientious objector, Christopher Farley, to six months imprisonment for refusing to undertake civil

work as an alternative to military service.

Earlier Christopher Farley, a member of the Pacifist Youth Action Group and a former Public Schools XV Rugby player, had told the Magistrate:

"By accepting conditional exemption I was recognising the right of the Government to conscript me. I felt that I could not accept alternative service."

"I am a Christian and don't feel it possible to have anything to do with military conscription."

The Court was told that shortly after leaving school, Christopher Farley had appeared at the Local Tribunal for COs and accepted a decision that he should undertake civil work on the land or in the hospital service as an alternative to military service. That was in October 1953.

He worked for a Quaker farmer at Chelmsford, Essex, until January 1954 when his services were no longer required and so he went, with the full approval of the Ministry of Labour, to St. Mary's Hospital, London, as a porter.

During this period he thought more deeply on the subject and came to the conclusion that he could no longer conscientiously submit to conscription.

Thought more deeply

He told the Ministry of Labour this and left the Hospital in April 1954. He then continued studying for University.

Mr. Graham Wiggs, defending Farley, urged that the CO be given an opportunity of appearing once again before a Tribunal.

Mr. Wiggs pointed out that the Minister of Labour had it in his power to grant this.

The Ministry of Labour's solicitor intervened to point out that the Minister was unwilling to refer the matter back to the Tribunal.

Present at the Court during the proceedings were Christopher Farley's father and Hugh Brock, the National Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union.

I understand from the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors that it is likely that an appeal will be made.

Hugh Brock writes:

Although Christopher Farley was prepared to accept conditional exemption when he went before the Tribunal two years ago, it is unlikely that, had he taken an unconditional stand then, he would have been granted unconditional exemption.

Judge MacDonnell, Chairman of the London

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WHEN the Dutch authorities learned that it was proposed to hold an international Third Camp Conference in Holland, the police made enquiries.

When they were told the purpose of the conference they were bewildered. "We can understand if you support the Western alliance," they said, "or even if you are pro-Communist. But you can't be anything else—there isn't anything else!"

The meeting at Laren proved them wrong. There is something else—and it is now well and truly established as a powerful and dynamic idea.

The main task of the Laren Conference, however, was to get beyond the mere idea, into the realm of practical politics, to see how far it is possible to work out a programme for peace and social reform based on the repudiation of military alliances, economic exploitation and political tyranny.

It was a great success. Participants from Holland, Germany, Switzerland, Britain and America discussed the Third Way view on co-existence, the German problem, colonialism, negotiation, world poverty, social reconstruction and the problems raised by technology.

The setting was ideal—a thatched hostel run by the Reformed Church of Amsterdam as a conference centre, standing on the edge of the little quiet town of Laren. Administered by a pacifist couple, it is a favourite place for peace conferences.

The result of the conference was clarification. So many attitudes have been manifested in the discussions on the Third Way so far that it was necessary for the conference to sort them out. It did.

Perhaps its most remarkable feature was the high degree of unanimity, not only on matters of principle, but also of interpretation.

Only one resolution was put to the conference, and that concerned German rearmament. It appealed to the peoples of all four Occupying Powers to urge their governments to halt the rearmament of Germany and seek means for the country's reunification on a basis of free elections, neutrality and disarmament.

Immediate action

A report from the conference steering committee was adopted by the conference. It contained proposals for immediate action and recommendation to national Third Way groups. They were:

1. **European Liaison Committee:** That a European Liaison Committee be set up, consisting of one representative from each national Third Way group in Europe, or where no such national group exists, from some other organisation acceptable to the Committee as representing the Third Way position (e.g. the Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft in Germany).

2. **Documentation Centre:** That "Derde Weg" of Holland be asked to continue as Documentation Centre. A monthly information bulletin on Third Way developments throughout the world would be distributed by this Centre to all who wished to receive it, and national groups would be asked to contribute to its cost (Address for enquiries: "Derde Weg," Post Box 4046, Amsterdam).

3. **World Conference:** That the Third Camp group in Britain be asked to assume responsibility for the arranging of a world conference of the movement in or near London in the summer of 1955, preferably the first week in September. A special effort should be made to obtain the maximum representation of Asian, African and colonial groups at this

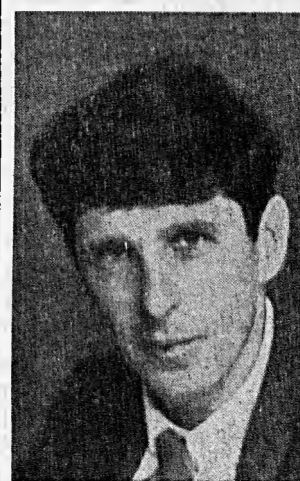
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London tribute to 'Courageous composer'

MICHAEL TIPPETT'S courage as a conscientious objector during the war in standing out for unconditional exemption and in going to prison was referred to at the concert given at Morley College on January 2 in honour of the composer's 50th birthday.

Scott Goddard, in a happy introduction to the programme, referred to the very great contribution which Michael Tippett was making to British music, and expressed the conviction that in the next 50 years he would get and give even more happiness than he had done in his first 50.

Scott Goddard recognised that Michael Tippett's music was the expression of a strong and courageous personality. He recalled the unforgettable first performance of "A Child of our Time" in 1943, and of "Boyhood's End" at the Wigmore Hall, when Michael Tippett was not able to be present, because, as a journalist wrote in his paper



MICHAEL TIPPETT

"A Child of our Time" in 1943, and of "Boyhood's End" at the Wigmore Hall, when Michael Tippett was not able to be present, because, as a journalist wrote in his paper

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H-BOMB PETITION FOR CHURCHILL



Sydney Silverman, MP, Dr. Donald Soper, Anthony Greenwood, MP, and Anthony Wedgwood Benn, MP, delivered the 500,000 signatures to the Hydrogen Bomb petition to the Prime Minister last Friday. They are shown left to right approaching 10 Downing Street, followed by others carrying more bundles of petition forms.

They handed in the following letter to Sir Winston Churchill:

"In submitting to you this Petition organised by the Hydrogen Bomb—National Campaign we express, on behalf of those who signed it, the hope that the support it has received will encourage you to take the immediate initiative in calling high level talks with Russia and America early in the New Year for the purpose of considering anew the problem of the reduction and control of armaments and of devising positive policies and means for removing from all the peoples of the world the fear which now oppresses them and for the strengthening of collective peace through the United Nations Organisation."

"Have you noticed that neither in the Beatitudes, nor in the Sermon on the Mount, is there a word about the military virtues among those which gain the Kingdom of God." —ERNEST RENAN.

We believe that pacifists have now a much greater opportunity than at any time since the war of advancing the essentials of their cause—both in the fundamental rejection of military violence and in the furtherance of the positive and constructive side of their pacifism. They should not in any sense water down their pacifism—on the contrary, they are able today to show that it constitutes the only political realism; but they must be as generous enough to urge it upon those with whom they will have the opportunity to work for the "Third Way," not as a doctrinaire requirement but as being dictated by the realities in a tolerant and brotherly confrontation of the facts of the present situation.

Central America chiefly centered at the moment on threats of the dictator Somoza of Nicaragua who recently acquired 25 Mustang fighter planes from Sweden—no protest has been heard from the State Department which reacted so quickly and sharply when the Arbenz Government in Guatemala got a shipment of arms last spring—against Costa Rica whose President,

RIGHT CHOICE

We are similarly indebted to him for his splendid courage in reiterating his conviction that it would be better to face Communism, and oppose it by Christian methods, than engage in a third world war.

Incidentally, The New York Times of

The real approach to this matter should be by the seeking of means to extend the area of disarmament, now confined to Germany and Austria to wider European territories on both sides. As Stuart Morris pointed out at the Laren Conference—to the great satisfaction of the Germans present—the present situation provides an opportunity for the belated honouring of the promise made at Versailles that German rearmament should be used as a means to a general extension of disarmament.

The conference will put Asia on the map. It will also take a huge step towards breaking the stranglehold which Cold War politics have laid upon the earth.

WE should like to draw the attention of the members of the Labour Peace Fellowship to Mr. Ivan Geffen's withdrawal from his candidature.

We hope that the Labour Peace Fellowship will give serious consideration to this matter between now and the General Election, and we should like to say that the columns of Peace News are open for discussion on this issue.

We suggested that they have a clear duty to be concerned about the conditions under which those who think like them in Eastern Europe have to live, or die; and that this is a matter that could usefully be brought up for discussion at the meeting of the World Peace Council. At the meeting this weekend they will have an opportunity of arranging for the discussion of this question in this country during 1955.

That the Yugo-slav Government has been trying to liberalise and decentralise its regime in recent years we believe there is no doubt; but we fear that there has always been a big gap between the paper aspirations it has displayed—as for instance in regard to industrial democracy—and the reality. What is now happening is an indication of how difficult it is to create a democracy by means of a dictatorship. We have no doubt that we shall have to observe similar phenomena in regard to the endeavour of the Malenkov Government in Russia to humanise and liberalise its regime.

Mr. Kabir felt, therefore, that Unesco should place special stress on the exchange of gifts which the different nations and peoples possessed.

If this was meant to apply to certain acts of the government, such as the social work which Dr. Soper alluded to, and not to the Communist regime as a whole, then I wish that had been made more explicit in the report. We speak of the Russian and, let us say, the American power-state, the Russian and the American or British socio-economic regime.

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NO JUST OR UNJUST WAR

Madness is simply madness

IT may be possible to have a full-fledged world war fought with "classic" or conventional weapons and use no poison gas, refrain from the bombing of cities, use no atom bombs and no hydrogen bombs, and no warfare of "mass destruction" of any kind such as the big powers have at their command by now. Yet, in the end, when one of the two great opponents is cornered and called to unconditional surrender—and unconditional surrender is the objective in modern war—then rather than accept what it regards as "ultimate" evil and betrayal, this nation will resort to the weapon that can obliterate all life. That cannot but mean the end of mankind on the surface of our planet!

So it is no longer possible for any power, by resorting to warfare, to overcome the adversary and so enter into the enemy's heritage. The conqueror will not be the heir, but in the last minute of that war he will perish with his opponent who was the defeated one.

That means we can no longer debate the question whether war is good or bad, whether there is such a thing as a just war or an unjust war. War—at least between powers that are able to build this bomb as their last resort—has ceased to be a means at all. War is no longer good or bad, just or unjust. However you look at it, war under these circumstances is madness. Madness cannot be characterised by "good" or "bad" or "just" or "unjust." There is no "just madness" and no "unjust madness," no "good madness" and no "bad madness." Madness is simply madness.

War is no longer a means of settling any disputes. War is heading headlong for destruction. Reason, therefore, says there must not be any war. Unfortunately, while man is a reasoning creature, he is not always a reasonable one, and so war can happen by itself, if we do not watch out.

We have to work for peace if we want to prevent war.

—MARTIN NIEMOLLER

Not his job?

This extract from the minutes of a meeting of a US Investigation Committee during the Korean War is translated from the German as it appeared in "Vaterland," June 1954.

CHAIRMAN: You are a Chaplain in the Army?

CHAPLAIN: I am.

CHAIRMAN: You believe that before God all men are equal?

CHAPLAIN: Yes.

CHAIRMAN: Would you therefore say that our greatest enemies, the Communists, are just as pleasing to God as we who are Christians?

CHAPLAIN: That is for God to decide.

CHAIRMAN: But you are a servant of God and claim to preach His word.

CHAPLAIN: (Makes no answer).

CHAIRMAN: Answer me. Are you of the opinion that we should love all men?

CHAPLAIN: That is God's will.

CHAIRMAN: Do you, then, love our enemies, the Communists?

CHAPLAIN: I preach the Bible.

CHAIRMAN: That's what you say. If, in your view, all men are equal and if you are bound to love all men, do you as an Army Chaplain love our enemies?

CHAPLAIN: I am concerned with souls. It is not my job to discriminate between them.

CHAIRMAN: Indeed! So it is not your job. We are in a war, and you maintain that it is not your job to hate our enemies. You are not worthy to be a Chaplain of our Army. You are either a complete nitwit or a traitor, and as a subversive element you deserve to be dismissed the Army with ignominy and to be deprived of your Holy Orders.

... RING IN THE NEW

THE Peace Pledge Union can certainly ring out the old year with a peal of joy, because we have again reached our target for the PPU Headquarters Fund. As we are keeping our books open until Jan. 8, I shall have to wait until next time to give you the actual total for the year, but at the moment of writing the PPU Fund stands at £1001.

We want to express our very warmest thanks to all those who have made this splendid result possible—not only to those who have been able and willing to send us substantial amounts, but also to those who, like several Old Age Pensioners have made their sacrifices on behalf of our work. I do hope that all will feel a sense of real satisfaction that through their help Headquarters Fund has been able to reach the figure allocated to it.

I hope also that the result will be a fresh incentive to all who have not contributed to Headquarters Fund in 1954. "Time and tide wait for no man," and the passing of the old year does not mean the ending of our responsibilities. We cannot let up on our efforts even for one day. So the successful conclusion to 1954 becomes the hopeful beginning of 1955, and we must ring in the New Year with a good start for the PPU Headquarters Fund. I, therefore, make this New Year appeal to all who have not sent us a gift in 1954 to make a good start to 1955 by sending us something this week.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1954: £1000.
Total received to date: £1001.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Labour candidate resigns
PACIFISM THE ISSUE

IVAN GEFFEN has resigned his candidature for Newcastle (North) after having been asked to do so by the Constituency Labour Party. He is 34 and is solicitor to the National Union of Mineworkers (Durham area).

He has been active in the Labour Party since 1937 and in the League of Nations Union and the United Nations Association since 1935.

In 1950 he was Labour candidate for Thirsk and Malton, and in 1951 opposed Major Gwilym Lloyd-George at Newcastle (North). He was re-elected candidate for Newcastle (North) early in 1952.

He is a founder member and Chairman of the Tyneside Africa Council.

On December 16 the Executive Committee of the Newcastle North Constituency Labour Party passed a resolution calling upon Ivan Geffen "to give a written assurance that he would contest the parliamentary election solely along the lines of Labour Party policy."

Mr. Geffen attended a meeting of the General Committee of the Party on December 23 when this resolution was discussed. He asked for an explanation of the resolution, and was told that it referred specifically to the expression of his pacifist views in his election address and at election meetings.

He told the Committee that he felt that his election address should contain a statement to the effect that he was opposed to the use of armaments, believed that this country should disarm, unilaterally if necessary, and if elected would seek to persuade

his Parliamentary colleagues to a similar viewpoint.

Delegates pointed out that this was not the official policy of the Labour Party and suggested that there was no need for this point to be included in his election campaign. It was suggested that votes would be lost, and also that the National Executive Committee of the Party might refuse to endorse his candidature if he insisted on maintaining it.

There was a lengthy discussion, at the end of which Mr. Geffen was asked to withdraw from the meeting. A resolution was then put that, having regard to Mr. Geffen's views, he should be asked to withdraw from the candidature. The voting was five in favour, four against, with six abstentions.

Recalled, Mr. Geffen was advised of this and asked whether he thought that the matter should be referred back to the Ward committees and affiliated organisations before a final decision was taken. He said that since he apparently had the confidence of less than a third of the delegates he felt he should resign immediately, and did so.

"KOREAN WAR CONVINCED ME"

IVAN GEFFEN was interviewed recently at his home by our North-Eastern correspondent—Ursula Massey. Her questions and his answers are given below.

Q: How long have you been a pacifist?

A: For about three years.

Q: What led you to become one?

A: Until the Korean war, I felt that despite the obvious risks involved in a policy of collective security, it was necessary that potential aggressors should be restrained by the threat of collective action of all other nations. The sufferings of the people of Korea, and the way in which the war was conducted, convinced me that with modern weapons and in present conditions collective security is only another name for the old-fashioned balance of power, and that it can only lead to collective suicide.

A WAR RESISTER

Q: Are you a member of any pacifist organisation?

A: No. I cannot conscientiously say that I would be opposed to any war that might be fought. I can envisage the possibility of a war between very small powers in which the one attacked might face total annihilation if it were not in a position to resist. I think this is a very remote possibility. It could certainly not cover any war in which this country might be involved, nor any war in which the rival power blocs might take part. It would probably be better to describe me as a war resister than a pacifist, but this is not a distinction that can readily be drawn in the forum of party politics.

Q: The Labour Party has always found room for pacifists. Why do you think the present hardening in official policy has taken place?

A: Because the official leadership of the Party is quite evidently out of touch with the views both of its own rank and file, and of multitudes of people throughout the country. To maintain their position, they are forced to regard as treason any challenge to official policy.

Q: Are you sure that it would not be better as a pacifist to take any opportunity you may have of fighting and possibly winning a parliamentary election and, if elected, taking a stand for pacifism?

A: This would be morally indefensible. The electors are entitled to know a candidate's views on all major issues. To conceal such views would be inexcusable. It would also be politically stupid. Already far too many people can see no difference between the major political parties. Political democracy demands that the electors should have a clear choice between the opposing viewpoints current at any time. If they are not given such a choice, the way is open for those who would destroy democracy.

Q: Do you think anything is gained by your resignation?

A: Certainly. In the first place, the fact has been widely reported in the Press, and this itself may give heart to others throughout the country who now feel themselves isolated. Secondly, the Newcastle Labour Party in particular, and the electors in North Newcastle generally, have had the issue of pacifism brought home to them in a way which is bound to make many reconsider their own position. By refusing to keep silent on this matter I have forced it into the arena of political discussion.

Q: In that case, why did you not resign sooner?

A: It is always tempting to resign from an organisation when you cannot persuade your colleagues in it to accept your viewpoint on every point. If you do this, however, you run the risk of rendering yourself completely impotent. On the other hand, if your opponents force the issue, you must face them on it and, if necessary, face temporary defeat.

Q: Have you any further plans now?

A: So far as a parliamentary candidature is concerned, no. I have never sought to be a candidate and feel that it is rather for constituency parties to approach any individual whom they regard as fit to represent them. This does not mean that I shall cease from all political activity. I am still a member of the Labour Party and will take any opportunity I get to advocate my views in it.

One of 'The Six'
for London
'Any Questions?'

COMING EVENTS IN 1955

Peace News Reporter

VICTOR YATES, one of the six MPs to vote against German rearmament, will be on the panel for an "Any Questions?" session in London on Wednesday, February 9, 1955, organised by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

The Hall and time are not yet fixed, but members of the panel will be Vera Brittain, author and Peace Pledge Union Sponsor; Canon Scrutton; Bernard Withers, Secretary to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors; Eden Peacock, Society of Friends; Stuart Morris and Clifford Macquire, General Secretaries of the Peace Pledge Union and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Question Master will be Sybil Morrison, Peace Pledge Union organiser.

DEMONSTRATIONS

On June 4 the Joint Committee has booked Trafalgar Square for a big peace demonstration.

It will be preceded by a march through Central London led by a pipe and drum band.

The vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields Church has made the Crypt available for a Peace Exhibition, Buffet, and "Any Questions?" session after the march and meeting.

The Standing Joint Pacifist Committee unites all the British pacifist organisations and the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends (Quakers).

A number of groups are planning "Objective Peace" Demonstrations for the spring and summer in collaboration with the PPU Campaign Committee and the Non-violent Resistance Group. Bromley, Woolwich and Eltham (Kent) PPU groups are to join together for a march, open-air meeting, exhibition and Brains Trust in Bromley (Kent). They hope to have the support of local clergy and a former mayor.

Southend and Ipswich are other places at which "Objective Peace" Demonstrations are being planned by PPU groups.

CONFERENCES

The Peace Pledge Union is to hold its summer conference in Wales, at Pantyfedwen, hostel of the Welsh Youth Organisation, Urd Gobaith Cymru, at Borth, Cardiganshire, from July 30 to August 6. Cost for adults is £6 10s. 6d.; for children £5 7s. 6d.

It will be a holiday conference. Mornings and evenings will be free. Evening sessions will include discussions on Parents and Children; The CO and the Tribunal; Pacifists and their Neighbours.

Speakers booked so far include John Kay, Quaker schoolteacher, and Sybil Morrison, PPU organiser.

The conference centre, formerly the "Grand Hotel," overlooks the famous golden beach that runs along for many miles on this delightful portion of the Welsh coast. Aberystwyth is six miles away.

It is hoped to fill about 80 places, a number of bookings have already been made. Reservations are asked for by January 31 in order to be sure of securing accommodation. A deposit of 30s., which counts as part of the conference fee is required. Applications to Stuart Morris, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

The 1955 Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union is to be held at Friends House, Liverpool, on April 16-17.

Subjects for the agenda and nominations for National Chairman and Treasurers must be received by February 1, together with a written consent to serve if elected.

PEOPLE AND PLACES

Postscript on a tour

PACIFISTS in New Zealand were very uncertain about raising sufficient money to pay for the visit last year from Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale.

They need not have worried. Margaret West reports in the New Zealand Christian Pacifist that the tour was a great success in every way:

"The Press, except in Auckland, was excellent. The headlines 'Quaker Scientist Looks at War,' 'Moral Standards and Right Use of Science,' 'Teaching War as Bad as Waging It,' 'Conscription in New Zealand Example of Divided Morality,' 'Nuclear Weapons no Deterrent.' The reports which followed gave a temporary new look to the Dominion's papers."

The NZ Broadcasting Service was generous too. Prof. Lonsdale was given one of the "Sunday evening talks", now an established national institution and commanding a very large audience.

"If a similar visit can be arranged, there is sufficient public support for such a speaker to warrant the undertaking," concludes Margaret West.

The best investment

WHY decide to put Peace News in the Library Reading Room and not the Investors' Chronicle?

Councillor J. C. Kenyon, Chairman of the Bury (Lancs) Library Committee was asked this at a Council Meeting after a decision had been taken to accept an offer, made by the

Fellowship of Reconciliation, to supply Peace News.

"We decided to give the periodical (PN) a trial because of the persistence of these people," said Councillor Kenyon. "We have had this request several times."

Investors' Chronicle was tried at one time, and the committee found there was no demand for it, the Councillor said. If there was no demand for Peace News, display of it would not be continued.

Twentieth Century Penn

I HAVE just been reading the report of the trial in Philadelphia, USA, of a Quaker war resister, Vail Palmer, who had refused to register for military service.

It had the full flavour of a William Penn anecdote transferred to the twentieth century.

The Court was told by leading American Quakers that the Society of Friends fully support the man who refuses to register for military service.

Lt. Col. Graf, Deputy State Director of Selective Service for Pennsylvania, asked for a maximum sentence of 5 years imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine for "such flagrant flaunting of the draft."

Assistant US Attorney Fogwell said he did not think Palmer was a "bona fide" CO. He too called for the maximum sentence.

Both these gentlemen were disappointed in Judge Grim. He placed Palmer on probation for three years with a fine of \$500.

The attorney, obviously irritated by the absence of a prison sentence, asked the judge what good probation would do since a con-

dition of probation is to obey all laws, and Palmer would disobey the draft law and be sent to prison for violating probation.

Judge Grim replied that a man placed on probation would only be sent to prison for violating that probation by the sentencing judge. He did not expect the difficulty mentioned by the attorney to arise.

Palmer had served a sentence of one year some time back for refusing to register. While he was in prison Philadelphia Quakers appointed him a representative to the World Conference of Quakers held in Oxford, England.

Challenge to Methodists

WHEN a Church Conference passes a resolution, does it mean anything?

So far I have heard of no official response to the following letter published in the Methodist Recorder on Nov. 18 last:

"Field Marshall Viscount Montgomery is reported as having recently stated that atomic weapons would have to be used at the outbreak of any new war, and that present NATO strategy would be to use nuclear weapons, to halt any attack and thus give time for full mobilisation. The 1954 (Methodist) Conference urged our Government (among others) to state unequivocally that in no circumstances will they henceforth first use in war any atomic weapons. Could we be given any official intimation of efforts to implement the declared will of Conference in this matter?"

The writer was the Rev. A. David Hatton, BD, of Newcastle-under-Lyme.



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Talking of books.

Six
outstanding
books of
1954

NOW that the New Year is here it might be interesting—and perhaps useful for those who wish to convert their Christmas book tokens into books—to take a backward glance at some of the outstanding books reviewed in this column in 1954.

Among the chief books of the year I should place Aldous Huxley's *THE DOORS OF PERCEPTION* (Chatto and Windus, 6s.) in which Mr. Huxley eruditely discusses mysticism and art, and the contemplative versus activist approach to human problems. Of course this is a lightweight compared with *ENDS AND MEANS* or *BRAVE NEW WORLD*, but all the same it bears the imprint of one of the truly remarkable minds of our time.

In *THE QUAKER APPROACH TO CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS* (edited by John Kavanaugh, Allen and Unwin, 15s.) we are reminded of the basic tenets of that unusual Christian group, the Society of Friends, and of its approach to the problems of war, inter-race relationships and human affairs generally. Each of the contributors is a specialist in his field. A volume that seems to me excellent value for the money.

Another outstanding book of 1954 was *EINSTEIN: A BIOGRAPHY* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 16s.) by the French woman writer, Antonina Vallentin, who has here contributed much to our understanding of a great mathematical physicist and humanitarian.

If you are specially interested in the South African scene you could do no better than spend your book token on Peter Abrahams' *TELL FREEDOM* (Faber and Faber, 12s. 6d.), one of the most poignant and beautifully written autobiographies I have read in recent years. One will learn more from it than from half a dozen factual studies.

I must not forget Edith Pargeter's *THE SOLDIER AT THE DOOR* (Heinemann, 12s. 6d.), a novel that should be read by every pacifist. Sybil Morrison said of it: "The splendid thing about this book is, not only that it makes a case for pacifism such as we would all like to put our names to, but it is beautifully written prose and a most readable tale in itself." Just the book for someone you want to influence in a quiet way.

Finally, I wish to mention another novel, also of considerable literary merit (but without a propaganda element) which came to me too late to be reviewed last year. Gabriel Fielding's *BROTHERLY LOVE* (Hutchinson, 10s. 6d.) is a perceptive first novel dealing with an eccentric Anglo-Catholic family. Their family and religious loyalties, and especially their concern for the eldest, clergyman son, whose waywardness threatens to bring them all disgrace, are firmly sketched in. Mr. Fielding has indeed written an out of the ordinary novel. ROBERT GREACEN.

RACE RELATIONS IN FRENCH
WEST AFRICA

GEORGE HOUSER is Projects Secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation. He is also an executive member of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), founder of Americans for South African Resistance and chairman of the American Committee on Africa. He recently visited Africa on behalf of AFOR. His visit took him from French West Africa, down the west coast, and into the Union of South Africa. The following article gives his impressions of Dakar, capital of French West Africa. We hope to follow it by further articles on other parts of Africa included in the visit.

DAKAR is not by any means typical of West Africa. For one thing, it is a city with a population of about 300,000. Most people of West Africa live in villages and rural areas. For another thing, about one-tenth of the population of Dakar is European, practically all French citizens.

This is by far the largest white population of any city of West Africa.

There is a touch of Paris about Dakar, with a few pavement cafes, and French food in restaurants. Living is very expensive, even surpassing New York as far as food and hotels are concerned.

But for all of this, Dakar is African and not a bad place for an introduction to African life. At the airport an African official inspected and stamped my passport. An African customs official gave the usual cursory examination of my baggage and asked several questions about my tape recorder. The taxis were all driven by Africans. Along the road to the city from the airport the hundreds (or perhaps thousands) of pedestrians I passed were Africans dressed in colourful robes. At the hotel, aside from the European manager, whom I rarely saw, all the personnel were African.

SEGREGATION

Two questions were dominant in my mind. One was: What is the structure of race relations in Dakar and in French West Africa as a whole? The second was: What is the view the African people have of French colonial policy?

It is certainly safe to say that the system of racial segregation as known in the United States does not exist in Dakar. I could discover only one place that was for Europeans only, and this was a yachting club. Significantly none of the Africans I talked to knew that such a segregated club existed. I was told about it by a Frenchman. Segregation is illegal and in contrast to the situation in East, Central, and South Africa, no one would think of advocating it. There are a few interracial marriages although no one I talked with advocated it. But there was no strong sentiment against it either.

In spite of this official policy, which was stated proudly by everyone, I was surprised to find as little mixing of the races as I did on the streets, in the stores, in the restaurants and cafes.

EDUCATION

The elements which keep Europeans and Africans separated are probably twofold: educational-cultural, and economic. Where an African has had the advantages of a European education and holds a job in government or business to match this, he will tend to be on the same social setting as the Frenchman. Unfortunately French West Africa has not done nearly as much as British West Africa in encouraging schooling for the people. A few years ago less than half of one per cent of the people in French West Africa were in school.

Part of the reason that this compares unfavourably with British territory is that private schools under missionary boards have been encouraged in British colonies, whereas they have not been in French. But in the schools which do exist, there is no segregation.

The reason Africans are not seen more often in public places such as restaurants and cafes is that they cannot afford it. A skilled African worker can get at most only about £40 a month, and an average wage would be about £17 10s. for an ordinary worker. With this wage structure applying, it is not surprising that Africans are rarely seen in public places where Europeans congregate. The Europeans tend to have the administrative and technical positions in business, and get from £70 to £125 a month unless they are among the real elite.

Segregation is not based upon a social pattern of prejudice, but is based upon an economic-educational pattern which it will certainly take many years to overcome.

SETTLERS

My judgment is that the reason segregation is not hardened into prejudice is that in West Africa as a whole Europeans do not think of themselves as permanent settlers.

They always speak of some other place as "back home." This is the big distinction between West Africa and Central, East, and South Africa.

The heat of the tropical climate in West Africa militates against the permanency of European occupation.

Another aspect of a practical segregation is seen in housing. About 150,000 of the Dakar population live in a district called Medina. I was told that about 1,000 of these are Europeans, but I did not see any white persons as I wandered around Medina.

Very small dwellings constructed of any available type of material are packed as close together as possible along "streets" of loose sand. It was almost impossible to walk through these streets in shoes. All of the people living there were barefoot, of course.

Some of the dwellings were made of boards; some of boxes; some of a mixture of mud and water with thatched roofs. Rent per room is about £3 a month, and to buy a piece of land costs about £1 per square metre.

POVERTY

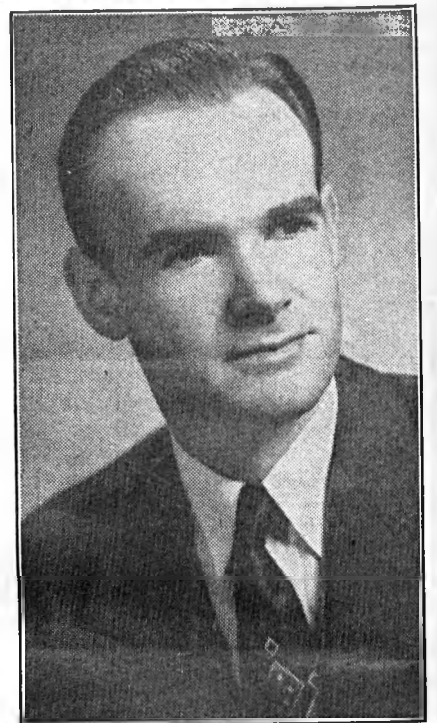
I was told by the Mayor of Dakar, M. Lamine Gueye (an African, incidentally), that a building committee of Dakar had to approve plans before a dwelling was constructed. In my casual observations I could not see much evidence of planning except that the streets were clear of buildings.

There were stand pipes every few blocks where the water was turned on at regular periods during the day and people were always lined up with their containers waiting for the moment. There were also latrines spaced throughout the section, but with open drainage which did not make the smell pleasant.

Medina was also a part of a system of practical segregation brought about by poverty and the adjustment of an uneducated populace to city life to which they had migrated.

French West Africa is actually a federation of eight territories not all of which are contiguous to one another. They include Senegal (where Dakar is located), Mauretania, French Sudan, French Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta, and Nigeria. The population of this area is around 17,000,000.

The object of French policy politically is to make this area as integrally a part of Metro-



GEORGE HOUSER

politan France as possible. The final authority is the French Governor General (he might be an African), who is the instrument of the French legislature in which the African colonies are represented. There are forty members on the Grand Council of French West Africa, five from each of the territories, and this body in turn sends twenty representatives to the Assembly in Paris.

INDEPENDENCE

The French policy toward the individual African is to Frenchify him both in the educational and the political structure. Only French is used in the schools after an African has learned the language. Africans are well integrated into the political structure. Thirty-two of the 40 members of the Grand Council are African. The President of the Council is African. The Mayor of Dakar is African.

It is obvious, at least in Dakar, that this system has worked to a considerable extent. The Africans who are educated think themselves as French, at least in part.

One did not feel pressure for independence in French territory the way one does in British. The French discourage it, by strong measures if necessary. And yet every African whom I asked whether he wanted independence for his country said that he did. "It will come," they said, "although we are not quite ready now."

Some said they wanted independence with more feeling than others. They would be satisfied to have this independence within the French Union.

NATIONALISM

My own feeling is that the French policy will not work for a long period. African nationalism will take precedence over the promise of being French citizens.

After all, the people in West Africa cannot feel they are effectively ruling themselves when they have only small representation in the Paris Assembly, hardly enough to form a political bloc to pass legislation which they may want in Africa. Furthermore, self-government in the Gold Coast and Nigeria will have its effect in French territory too.

AUSTRIA: WILL GERMANY MARCH IN AGAIN?

THE journey of Austria's Chancellor, Julius Raab, to Washington at the end of November focussed attention on the urgent need to solve the "Austrian problem" by a Treaty signed by the three Western Powers and the Soviet Union.

Most of the Austrian press expressed the view that the speeding up of negotiations is not connected with the ratification of the London and Paris Agreement on Germany's remilitarisation.

But Washington insisted on ratification of the Agreements before any new approach should be made to Russia on the evacuation of Austria by the Four Powers.

The New York Times (Amsterdam, November 25, 1954) reported that "Chancellor Raab made a plea for dissociating the Austrian from the German question. The Soviet Union 'is always arguing that they cannot withdraw their troops from Austria because of a new threat from Germany,' he said."

The outcome of Raab's journey caused much disappointment in Vienna. The Catholic-Conservative weekly, *Die Furche*, declared (December 4):

"Austria must continually endeavour to prevent her problem being treated as part of the German question... America will consider the Austrian State Treaty only after ratification of the Paris Agreement... If Europe is dominated by some 'axis'—as in 1937 by Rome-Berlin, perhaps in future by a Washington-Bonn or Germany-Russia 'axis'—then our country has no chance of existence.

German assets in Austria resulting from the annexation by Hitler were partly appropriated as reparations (mainly for Russia) and partly taken over by the Austrian Government for settlement of claims by refugees. Dr. Adenauer now wants to reopen the question of German assets.

Francis Rona, M.Sc (Econ.), writes from Vienna on the Austrian "Vacuum"



VIENNA: THE RATHAUS

Western Germany's growing economic and political power has stiffened Dr. Adenauer's attitude towards Austria. On October 30 a Bonn Court declared that Austrians residing in West Germany since 1938 are to be regarded as German citizens. The judgment is based on the fiction that the enforced "Anschluss" of Austria by Hitler in 1938 has still legal validity. One week after this judgment all Austrians in Bavaria, Hessen and West-Berlin received the right to vote at elections.

Die Furche published the following comment on November 13:

"Austria has not looked after her interests in relation to Germany... The Chancellor (Raab) declared that all Austrians remain Austrian citizens irrespective of their residence."

"Court judgments are significant indications of political opinion and of intentions... In the last nine years we have not obtained a clear and unmistakable declaration from the German Government in Bonn that the independence and freedom of Austria has been recognised." Several papers, particularly on the Left, have

expressed apprehension that the Washington-Bonn "axis" may regard Austria as Germany's "Lebensraum," particularly as a compensation for the Saar.

The Bonn Government will be in a strong bargaining position after ratification of the Paris Agreement, and it will be almost impossible for the Western Powers to prevent Dr. Adenauer integrating Austria into the German economy and political sphere.

Evacuation of Austria by troops of the Four Powers would certainly create a strategic vacuum in Central Europe. It would become a "Zerrungsfeld" (geo-political area of friction). As in the 1930's, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, as well as Yugoslavia and Italy would be directly interested in her external and internal policies. The existence of a German army, first 500,000 then perhaps 1,000,000, will dominate Austria's position.

Advocating Germany's remilitarisation, Sir Anthony Eden stated in Parliament that the "vacuum" in Germany, resulting from the withdrawal of all Russian and Western troops and a guaranteed neutrality, would be dangerous and unacceptable to the Western Powers.

In the case of Austria, however, Sir Anthony favours a "vacuum" and the speedy evacuation by the Four Powers, leaving Austria in Germany's "Lebensraum." Such a proposal is illogical and unrealistic.

There are three possible ways of saving Austria's independence:

- (a) by creating a "strong" Austrian army;
- (b) by leaving the troops of the Four Powers in the "vacuum";
- (c) by leaving Germany and Austria demilitarised and creating a neutral zone under guarantee of the United Nations after all occupation forces had been withdrawn.

Continued on page five

Gilb

THOSE who could switching Silent World by Jacques from the 1 in salvaging sank in the is the begin Archaeolog nique will in the grea tremulous sea bed m: to six feet eyes—fish long legs e night! Ug

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Gilbert Harding's bran tub

THOSE who enjoyed their Christmas fare could be excused if they relaxed when switching on to the soothing title "The Silent World" (Third), a talk on deep-sea diving by Jacques-Yves Cousteau. With companions from the French navy, he has been engaged in salvaging a Greek merchant vessel which sank in the Mediterranean about 205 BC. This is the beginning of a chapter of "Underwater Archaeological" interest, which improved technique will extend. The description of weird life in the great depths, however, had a disturbing, tremulous effect: "holes of great size in the sea bed made by gigantic worms—sharks five to six feet in length, with wobbling, protruding eyes—fish with two tails—jumping fish with long legs etc., etc., (we saw them all later that night! Ugh!)

Gilbert Harding remains in jealous control of his bran tub, ("The Harding Interviews" Light), up to the very moment when his guest is announced. The happy inspiration of introducing Sir Norman Angell was surprisingly appropriate.

The author of "The Great Illusion" recalled the first world war (the war to end war!), and reaffirmed "victory never provides what we want—to prevent aggression we must learn to agree—war was still a great illusion—war is a psychological and moral problem—men as individuals are sane, but inclined to insanity in the group—extreme optimism and extreme pessimism are both dangerous—collective mania is disguised with slogans—the work is hard, progress is slow as when fighting any pestilence."

How invigorating to hear the Grand Old Man as incisive and forthright as forty years ago! A Nobel Prize, a Knight, eighty years of age (three distinctions found in a more pugnacious individual), he has surely had a deeper humanitarian influence than all the political contortionists of his age!

Why was the recorded talk by Donald MacRae on "The Trade Unions" (Third), delivered at such speed that an interval of silence was necessary before the following item? How many Trade Unionists listen to the Third? May we please have a repeat on the Home or Light—but without the hurry?

In the New Year's Eve "At Home and Abroad" (Home), Sir Charles Webster speaking of West European "defence" omitted nothing: "our modern weapons—still weak in man-power—cavalry and threats from Moscow—depends on France and Germany combining—Mr. Eden's guarantee" and finished triumphantly: "We did it in the war, there is no reason we should not do it in the cold war!"

Delightful claptrap Sir Charles! The "we" that did "it" in the war is now enjoying its "victory", and those "we" did "it" to we now arm to do "it" against a part of the "we" that did "it" to them.

Strange thing war, Sir Charles. Ever seen pink mice chase green elephants? No? Ah well, a Happy New Year to everybody, (including you, Sir Charles).

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

Pacifists and Communists

STUART MORRIS thinks I have missed John Swomley's and Tom Wardle's point. I am afraid not: it is too plain for anyone to miss.

Their point is that the rulers of Soviet Russia are liars and hypocrites; that their professed desire for peace is pretence; that their "kindly overtures" are traps for the unwary, and that those of us who are co-operating with Communists in the attempt to prevent war are deluded innocents.

Lest anyone should retort that Communists have at any rate achieved something worth while in the Soviet Union Tom Wardle informs us that all they have achieved is a "boss-and-power system which lies behind the mumbo-jumbo of the 'Workers' State'"—a view which many highly intelligent observers of life in the USSR do not share.

Now all this is simply anti-Communist propaganda in its most virulent form, and it has been hurled at us for many years by the British press and by the leading statesmen of the West. If it is all true, then there can be no further argument. Not pacifists only, but all decent and honest men must abjure these monsters of iniquity and refuse any sort of co-operation with them.

There are, however, a number of sincere pacifists who, like myself, are far from being convinced that this indictment of the Communists is just, and there must be many more whose judgment is at present suspended.

Speaking for myself, and, I think, for many other pacifists, I believe there are good grounds for thinking that the Soviet rulers desire peace as sincerely and passionately as Stuart Morris or myself, that they have no wish at all to see their people massacred and their cities vaporised, and that they are at least as much appalled as we are at the prospect of a third world war fought with nuclear weapons.

I believe further that in most respects Communist policy is far more favourable to the cause of peace than the present policies of the Western powers and that, therefore, we ought as peace lovers to support the first and oppose the second. Political neutrality where peace is concerned ought to be impossible for us.

Unless we are quite unrealistic we know that whether war in the near future can be averted depends not upon pacifism but upon political action. As a most convinced Christian pacifist I entirely believe that pacifism is the one full and final answer to the problem of war, but I totally disagree with Stuart Morris when he says the task of the pacifist is to advocate pacifism "and nothing else."

It is certain that (short of a miracle) the imminent peril of world war cannot be met by pacifism alone. The most optimistic of us cannot hope that our government will be strong enough to influence the policies of governments for many years to come. But we dare not wait for years to come. The inexorable march of events will not tarry for us. We must seek the means of averting the danger of war now—in this generation.

The most obvious, indeed, the only means is to strengthen those policies which, if they cannot ensure peace in the world for ever, may at least keep the hydrogen bomb at bay for a time and give mankind a breathing space in which to lay enduring foundations of a permanently peaceful world.

This is the aim, and the sole aim, of the World Peace Movement in which Communists and non-Communists alike are working together in friendship and mutual trust to remove the immediate threats to peace.

Tom Wardle thinks that the danger of war comes equally from Moscow and Washington, but that view is contradicted by the facts. Whether Communist policy will endanger peace in the future is a matter for conjecture, but it is plain enough that American policy threatens peace now.

I ask in all seriousness, what can the PPU, or all the pacifist societies put together, do to save the peace now? And what will be the use of the PPU if this year, or next, or the year after, England is an uninhabited and uninhabitable wilderness?

I cannot but feel that insistence upon paci-

LETTERS

fism and nothing else springs from failure to realise how near we are to catastrophe and how little time is left for mankind to find a way of escape from its threatened doom.

It is later than some of us think. KENNETH RAWLINGS. St. Michael's Rectory, Lewes.

Our correspondent has misread the letter from Stuart Morris, who did not say that the task of the pacifist was to advocate pacifism "and nothing else," but "nothing less."—Ed.

A RECENT letter from Kenneth Rawlings (December 24, 1954) comments on my booklet THE PEACE OFFENSIVE AND THE COLD WAR, on the basis of a review rather than a reading of the booklet itself.

Mr. Rawlings' comment that if pacifists can't co-operate with Communists they can't co-operate with anyone is an unjustified conclusion.

Communists are disciplined members of an international party which has a vested interest in a military power state, the Soviet Union. Communist inspired peace movements never criticize Soviet militarism or war ventures but always criticize Western militarism. "Peace movements," which remain silent about or support the militarism and expansion of one side in the cold war, as all Communist-inspired movements tend to do, therefore support the power strategy of the Soviet Union.

Insofar as such movements are a tactic to promote or achieve the larger political aims of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union, pacifists will find it difficult to collaborate politically with them without obscuring and perverting the pacifist witness. The same thing is true, as I pointed out in my booklet, of Western governments' "peace proposals." If they are a tactic designed to counter the Soviet programme while strengthening the Western power position, genuine peacemakers cannot co-operate with such a programme. For example, the American Fellowship of Reconciliation refused to collaborate politically with such movements as America First, Ku Klux Klan, the American Legion, "For America," and the Communist Party, even though all have or have had programmes for averting war.

Refusal to co-operate with political movements of East or West, Right or Left, which use peace propaganda to serve nationalist purposes does not rule out co-operation with everyone. Surely Mr. Rawlings realises that most of the people of the world and hundreds of movements are not tools of either power bloc?

Moreover, it is begging the question to suggest that the sea wall would not have been strengthened in the recent floods if people had investigated each other's political motives. Those of us who oppose political collaboration do not oppose, but rather seek, personal association, including work on projects which do not involve political manoeuvring and alliances that are incompatible with our basic objectives. But to use the same analogy, any wall against war that we erect with Communists has got to be against Soviet war preparations as well as against Western preparations. It is the Communists who will not work on such a wall; not the pacifists.

If Mr. Rawlings can demonstrate that Communist peace movements are sincere in opposition to war, including Communist-sponsored warfare in colonial areas, for example; and not a device to oppose Western militarism only, I hope he will do so. Such a rationale for political collaboration with Communists would be politically more effective than simply attacking the position of non-collaboration.

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR. 21 Audubon Ave., New York, 32, USA.

CO Tribunals

OLWEN BATTERSBY (Peace News December 10) came away from the London Local Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal feeling that it was all "slightly indecent," and Hugh Brock, who was also there, did not like the type of question that was asked.

I suppose that I have attended 80 per cent. of the sittings of this Tribunal since 1946 and

it was interesting to read these reactions, because quite recently a witness, who had testified on behalf of a CO, wrote afterwards to the Ministry of Labour saying how fair he thought the Tribunal was and commending it for the trouble taken with each applicant.

The object of this letter is to appeal to all Peace News readers to go to their local tribunal as often as possible, particularly if their faith in pacifism is flagging and they are thinking the fight is hopeless.

LAWRENCE BALLS.

61 Petts Wood Rd., Orpington.

Nationalism

WHILE agreeing whole heartedly with John Nibb that majority rule, or Democracy, with mankind at its present state of evolution, is nowhere near the ideal form of government, I must join issue with him on purely historical grounds when he states that there have been more wars under democracy than under authoritarian rule.

From the 15th century onwards Europe was in a perpetual state of warfare on account of would-be dictators. Charles V, Emperor of Austria and King of Spain kept the Continent in a state of warfare throughout his reign, and Louis XIV's persistently aggressive policy not only kept Europe in a constant state of fear and mass homicide but ruined his people and his country and led directly to the horror of the Revolution. ESME WYNNE TYSON.

Clarwyn, East Beach, Selsey, Sussex.

AUSTRIA

FROM PAGE FOUR

The first proposal appears to be an illusion. An "independent" Austria just would not possess the means to build up an air-force and armoured divisions. She would become bankrupt. At present Austria's financial position is improving, although about 3 per cent. of the workers are unemployed. There is no conscription, no army, no military expenditure and the Four Powers have renounced claims for the cost of occupation. Consequently, Austria can expand social insurance and services. Even the burden of taxation has been reduced.

Unfortunately, the Coalition Government—the People's Party (Catholics) and the Socialist Party (Right wing) advocate conscription and have already established within the police force a core for an army in the American zone. A small Catholic group, mainly around Professor Ude, Left-wing Socialists (SAP) and Communists oppose conscription.

If the Four Powers cannot agree on guarantees for Austria's independence, then Russia may claim the right to keep troops there so long as Britain maintains forces on the Continent—until 1998!

In Washington Chancellor Raab moved near to the American concept of "bargaining from strength" and apparently believes that Russia can be forced to withdraw her troops from Austria after and through Western Germany's remilitarisation.

The third proposal requires a new meeting of the Four Powers. There is no need to worry about the "Austrian vacuum" if Germany is kept disarmed and if the Four Powers agree to make the Austrian State Treaty effective by withdrawing all troops.

Two essentials for successful negotiations seem to be:

1. No rearmament of either Germany or Austria,
2. Creation of a neutral zone; including a re-united East and West Germany and Austria, to be guaranteed by the Four Powers and solemnly confirmed by the United Nations.

At present Austria is a victim of "power politics" and has to accept the presence of foreign troops on her territory. The highly cultured and good-natured Austrians should be free to continue their economic progress undisturbed by the menace of another enforced "Anschluss."

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MEETINGS

BIRMINGHAM Peoples Peace Committee. New Year Peace Rally at Bristol Street School on Sunday, Jan. 9, 7 p.m., with Gordon Schaffer, Rev. John Bliss, Jim Flagius (former Gen. Sec. NUR). Germany—4 Power Talks Now!

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.Litt.

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DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Friday, January 7
EWELL: 8 p.m.; Glyn Hall. Frank Dawry, "Crime and Punishment." PPU.
GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.; Community Ho., Clyde St., 1. Group mtg. PPU.

Saturday, January 8
LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Business and discussion. Visitors welcome PPU Religion Commission.

Thursday, January 13
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. "Democracy—What is it?" PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG speaker: "Why I am a Pacifist". Pacifist Youth Action Group. PPU.

Friday, January 14
STOCKPORT: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 93 Lower Hillgate. Charles Royle, MP. "My Visit to China." SoF.

Every week!

SUNDAYS
HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Bldg. Bldg. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS
NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. For. PPU.

THURSDAYS
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

Saturday, January 15
SHEFFIELD: 3.30 p.m.; Queen's Street Cong. Ch. Sheffield For. Area Re-dedication Service led by Rev. Frank Dice. Pooled tea. For.

LONDON, S.E.18: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 179a Eglinton Rd. Plumstead. Mock Tribunal. Applicants should send statements to Phillips, 42 Dominic Drive, S.E.9, as soon as possible. Buses 53, 53A, 54, 153 to Herbert Rd. Eltham PPU.

Sunday, January 16
LONDON, W.1: 3.30 p.m.; King's Weigh House Church, Binney St. (nr. Bond St. Stn.). Sufi Service. Discourse by Miss L. Hayat Bouman PPU Religion Commission.

Tuesday, January 18
KINGSTON-ON-THAMES: Friends Mtg. Ho., Eden St. (next door YMCA, near station). Public Meeting. Gerald Bailey MA. "Peace with the Communists—It is Possible?" AFF. For. PPU. SoF.

Wednesday, January 19
GLASGOW: 7.45 p.m.; Community Ho., Clyde St., 1. Group mtg. PPU.

Thursday, January 20
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Michael Sorensen. "TVSP." PPU.

Sunday, January 23
LONDON, W.C.1: 2.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Conference for Young Men considering standing as Conscientious Objectors. Speaker, Bernard Withers (Sec. C.B.C.O.). Tea provided.

Friday, January 27
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

Wednesday, February 2
BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends' Inst. Frederick St. William Boyd: "Reconciliation in Industry." For.

Thursday, February 3
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Dennis Player. "Spanish Holiday." PPU.

Thursday, February 10
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Arthur Hadley. "Justice." PPU.

Thursday, February 17
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. J. Allen Skinner (Editor, Peace News). "The Third Way." PPU.

Who wants German rearmament?

From page one

That is what Mr. Foster Dulles did on the eve of the General Election that put Dr. Adenauer in power.

Opinion in Britain

But in view of what happened in our own Parliament—when only 266 out of 650, about 44 per cent, voted for the Treaty—our Foreign Office might have had the decency not to lecture the French.

With all the pressures, M. Mendes-France only managed to push the Treaty through by 287 votes to 260 with about 70 abstentions.

If there were a plebiscite or referendum in France the Treaty would have been defeated. The Governments who have been pushing France into this know it.

Indeed if there had been a plebiscite or referendum in Britain too, I doubt very much whether we would have approved of German rearmament.

At the Labour Party Conference the Executive Resolution was only carried by 3,270,000, to 3,022,000 votes, the votes of one union being cast contrary to the union's Annual Conference decision.

In the House of Commons vote the Parliamentary Committee changed the Party line from support of the Treaty to abstention when it realised that only a minority of Labour MPs were prepared to go into the Lobby to support the Treaty.

When Mr. Guy Mollet talks about British socialists being in favour of German rearmament he might remember these facts.

Do they represent us?

After the French vote, The Times came out with a paragraph headed RELIEF IN LONDON. But where?

Underneath we read:

"News of the vote in the French Assembly was received at the Foreign Office with obvious relief."

No doubt. No doubt. But do the gentlemen of the Foreign Office really represent the British people on this issue?

The majority was so small that in many

ways it is a defeat for British-American policy in W. Europe.

That is why Mr. Alistair Buchan, the Observer's Washington Correspondent cabled to say that in future America's policy will be to place less reliance on France.

He says:

"But even though the agreements have been ratified the course of the debate has revived all the doubts about France's ability to line up to the role of a Great Power."

Alistair Buchan says that there is now a possibility that France will be by-passed in favour of Spain and Germany.

Spain is to have more attention as a potential base.

Position in Germany?

But what about Germany? Is Germany any more enthusiastic about being re-armed than France?

In the Sunday Times the same day (January 2, 1955) we are all told under the headline GERMAN APATHY IN REARMING that the results of a semi-official poll just published by the ALLENBACH INSTITUTE shows great opposition to German rearmament.

We are told:

"Though public opinion strongly favours maintaining close ties with the West, less than half the population is in favour of German rearmament, and nearly 40 per cent. is violently opposed to any kind of military service. Most Germans believe that in a future war the Western powers would withdraw, leaving Germany to be destroyed by atom bombs."

So that the Germans can not be considered any more reliable than the French!

The plain truth is that the people of Western Europe are not in favour of German rearmament even if some of the politicians and the military vested interests are.

Our Foreign Office has also promptly turned down Mr. Malenkov's suggestion, made in a television interview for America, that there should be a further international conference to discuss the Far East.

Why shouldn't there be? The German conference was a success, in spite of the Americans. Why should we flatly turn down the suggestions from Mr. Malenkov?

The House of Commons ought to be told, but it does not meet until January 25.

A MOCKERY OF THE NATIONAL SERVICE ACT

From Page One

Appellate Tribunal takes the attitude that it is entirely at the discretion of the Tribunal whether unconditional exemption is granted or not. He tells COs that it is no use claiming it.

The result is that boys who stand out against conscription with a deep conviction and demand unconditional exemption—a right granted them by Parliament—will continue to go to prison while Judge MacDonnell remains at the London Appellate Tribunal.

A notable case recently was that of Paul Brown, the Quaker schoolboy who had shown himself a deeply convinced objector right from the time he was expelled from the City of London School for refusing to serve in the Combined Cadet Force.

He served a sentence of imprisonment because of Judge MacDonnell's seemingly automatic refusal to give unconditional exemption.

Protests have been made by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, but without avail.

Judge MacDonnell's persistent attitude makes a mockery of Parliament and the National Service Act.

Magistrate Impressed

The peace movement in Britain can be proud that it has such fine war resisters as members of our PPU Pacifist Youth Action Group are proving themselves to be.

Those of us who were called upon to resist in war time—at an older age than 17—have little awareness of the situation faced by our young peace-time COs.

Christopher Farley, sturdy, quiet-mannered, obviously impressed the magistrate, who commented that he did not doubt the genuineness of this CO's conviction—or as a policeman told Mr. Farley, sent., after the sentence: "He's got more guts than anyone else here."

MICHAEL TIPPETT

From page one

the next day, he was "detained elsewhere." That, said Scott Goddard, was some measure of the guts which Michael Tippet possessed, and he himself regretted that while in very real sympathy with the pacifist position, he had not had the same courage. He knew that many men of Michael Tippet's generation had been inspired by his action.

Except for a rendering of Purcell's "Birth-day Ode" as a surprise item at the end, the programme was devoted entirely to some of Michael Tippet's own works. Margaret Kitchen played his piano sonata "Boyhood's End". The Bach Group sang "Dance, Clarion Air" and "The Weeping Babe", and the Aeolian Quartet played the string quartet.

The Holst Music Room was packed to capacity, and the audience obviously not only thoroughly enjoyed the opportunity of hearing some of Michael Tippet's compositions, but also of being able to share in so happy a celebration of his fiftieth birthday.

STUART MORRIS.

THE TIME IS RIPE

Peaceful co-existence has become possible only as the West has approached an effective balance of strength, and agreed reduction of conventional forces can be undertaken only on a basis which did not leave any major country—such as Germany—unarmed.

—The Observer, January 2, 1955.

Britain's view that the time is not ripe for a conference with Russia on the Far East was re-inforced by a Foreign Office spokesman a few hours after Mr. Malenkov said that talks with interested Powers to settle Far East problems would be welcomed.

—Daily Telegraph, January 3, 1955.

SO the New Year, 1955, has come in. It has been greeted with the usual hilarity, feasting, and good wishes; it has been used, as usual, by dramatic critics, musical critics, art critics and book reviewers to make erudite and often boring lists of last years plays, music, art and books; and it has, also as usual, been made the excuse for newspaper leader writers, and politicians, to expound their views upon the chances of peace in industry, in Europe, in the Far East, and in the world.

In all the articles on this last most vital and important topic there is a depressing sameness. There is still, and most dangerously, the sinister and tragic belief that peaceful co-existence is only possible if backed up by great armaments.

The fact that the armaments of the West, allied with the determination to arm Germany as part of the Western European Fortress, have only resulted in Russia making an all-out effort to reach the same position of strength, is not mentioned. Yet this fact, though it is never brought out to be scrutinised and is continually glossed over, remains to prove that the real result of trying for peaceful co-existence through strength is a race in armaments, greater and more terrifying than any the world has ever known.

Each time that an approach is made by Russia for a meeting or a conference some reason is found for it not being either a proper basis for discussion, or the right time to have it.

It is certainly of little use to attempt negotiation if there is no will to find an agreement, and it is this lack of willingness to come

to terms of some kind that is at the very root and heart of the world's dilemma.

This is partly due to the very real, and very understandable, fear of the Communist creed and the authoritarian regime, but it is also due in a large degree to the appalling belief in the rightness of the final arbitrament of a world war, fought with all the terrible weapons that science has made possible for the destruction of life.

War, with whatever weapons it is waged, is undertaken for the purpose of destroying life; it has never had any other purpose, for it is understood that victory goes to the side which can cause the most destruction, thereby obliging the other side to call a halt.

★

As the years have gone on, and more and more work has gone into the invention of greater and greater destructive powers, so naturally the fear of war has increased.

But in spite of that fact there is still an instinct among those in authority to put their final faith, not in negotiations, but in this very fear, the fear of these awful retaliatory methods which can settle nothing and achieve nothing other than total disaster.

Yet fear is not, and never has been in itself, a final deterrent. Fear of prison does not deter the burglar; fear of hanging does not, in the ultimate moment, deter the murderer.

The excuse that the time is not ripe to make some effort, whether it be a small one or a great one, to find some way out of the tensions and difficulties, is so hackneyed and outworn that it is amazing to find it still as a "headline" for this bright New Year, 1955.

The truth is that Communism is far more likely to thrive on the Western World's present policies of force, which is Communism's own ultimate means, than to be intimidated by it. Force and complete reliance upon it is the bedrock of totalitarian faith and the Western World does nothing to disprove it by resorting to the very means they so much deplore.

This cannot be the right way, and the New Year for pacifists comes in on a different note. The bells must ring out, not with the echoes of self-deceiving old wives' tales, but with the challenging chime of the seasonable bells that rang in the advent of gentleness instead of violence, forgiveness instead of anger, love instead of hatred, 2,000 years ago.

The time is ripe, and now is the time.

They need your help

HARDLY a week goes by without several cases coming to the notice of people who obviously need Peace News, yet cannot for various reasons pay for it.

There are the older readers, retiring on to pensions, who find they just have to cut everything other than food and shelter out of their personal budgets. How grateful they are when another reader volunteers to post on a copy each week.

There are struggling pacifists and humanitarian societies abroad who send us their occasional bulletins and circulars. They would like Peace News in return, but we just cannot afford the guinea a year it would cost. Many readers already keep such friends abroad well plied with British peace literature—and copies of PN in particular. But we need quite a lot more volunteers to help with this, too.

If you can help, will you send your name and address to the Peace News Subscription Dept? They will be glad to link you up in this scheme. And if you don't wish to part with your copy will you send a guinea for a year's supply? We will let you know who is benefitting from your gift, and shall be especially grateful for such additional income for our work.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week: 11,200.

Conference For Young Men of 16 and Over Who Are Considering Standing As Conscientious Objectors

at Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., W.C.1, on Sunday, Jan. 23 at 2.30 p.m. Speaker: Bernard Withers (Secretary of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors). Tea provided.

JANUARY 13 7-10p.m.

Friends International Centre
32, Tavistock Square, W.C.1

A NEW YEAR PARTY

A London Area do - - do come!
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THIRD WAY

FROM PAGE ONE

conference.

4. Name: That the European movement be known as the Third Way. That recommendation be made to all national groups for consideration of the adoption of this title to describe the movement as a whole. That national groups be recommended to discontinue the use of sub-titles to this name.

Representatives and observers from the following organisations were among those present:

Holland: "Derde Weg"; ANVA (General Netherlands Peace Action); Socialist Union.
Britain: Third Camp; Peace Pledge Union; Common Wealth Party; National Peace Council; International Association League.
Germany: Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft;
Society of Friends.
Switzerland: Religious Socialist Society.
International: War Resisters International.

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